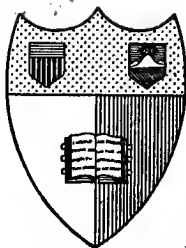


THE PLATEAU PEOPLES
OF
SOUTH AMERICA

ALEXANDER A. ADAMS



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INDIAN WOMAN WITH BABY.

(From a photograph taken by a friend of the author's.)

THE PLATEAU PEOPLES OF SOUTH AMERICA

An Essay in Ethnic Psychology

BY
ALEXANDER A. ADAMS, A.M.

WITH FOUR ILLUSTRATIONS



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THE PLATEAU PEOPLES OF SOUTH AMERICA

CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF PROGRESS

THE Evolutionary Philosophy of the latter part of the nineteenth century has had a deep and lasting influence upon the various schools of political thought, an influence which has not, however, made wholly for good or clear thinking. The Theory of Evolution has made us familiar with the idea that there are stages in the progress of man towards the present highest point, which we naturally believe to be represented by ourselves, and scientific writers have given the impression that these stages are more or less adequately illustrated by existing races both savage and semi-civilized. The variety and number of

these illustrations has so confounded popular thought on the subject that at the present time all races which are not upon the same par of civilization as ourselves are supposed to be at some lower stage of the evolutionary ladder. This idea is quite incorrect.

In the course of the evolutionary process there occur generations of animals and plants which, not being suitable to their several environments, endeavour so to adapt themselves as to become in keeping with it. During the period of adaptation there are many races, species and individuals which either die or degenerate into things incapable of reproduction after a few generations, through the pressure of the environment overcoming the natural force which tends to make all sentient things desire life. This argument may be applied by analogy to the present races of men. There are many in the respective stages of rapid or slow degeneration, others which are merely able to keep themselves alive, the reproduction of their

kind being either stationary or diminishing, and yet others in which the seeds of decay have fallen upon soil fruitful for their growth. These races and nations are outside of the direct ascent of the evolutionary ladder—are only attached to it at various points. They are not upon the ascending steps. Their view is not towards the top but downwards at varying angles into the abyss of degeneration and despair.

Thus can the idea be firmly grasped that not all races of mankind are animated by those ideals of progress which, indeed, seem to belong more particularly to the races of Western Europe and their kindred in North America. Progress, in itself, is not an idea inherent in the human mind as we know it to-day : it appears more to be the prerogative of a few chosen races and peoples. Civilized races have lived and do live which are not moved in any way by the idea of progress. There are numerous examples of the stationary type of civilization in the riverain peoples of

the Nile, Mesopotamia, Ganges, Yangtse Kiang and other great rivers of history. Mental progress is not universal amongst men, and the idea of progress is no more universal. The civilizations mentioned had as an ideal the fixation of the processes of national life at a certain level, the achievement of that which the Chinese actually accomplished during so many centuries, the simple "cessation of becoming."

At the present day the culture of the Chinese seems to have retrograded from some previous higher point and although the principal causes of this retrogression may be found in things exterior to the thought and culture of the Chinese themselves, yet this culture, by lessening the regard in which the military classes were held, by holding up the acquirement of their special system of learning as the highest ideal, by the extreme veneration for tradition, in other ways undoubtedly contributed materially to its own retrogression.

It would appear that those races in

which there are inherent no ideals of progress, possess within themselves the seeds of decay and death. Of the stationary civilizations mentioned all have declined from their former high estate.

Accepting the idea of progress as the measure and primary requisite of continued human existence and power the necessary conclusion is that many of the races, as we know them at present, are doomed to extinction along with the indigenous peoples of Australia and North America, for a stationary type of civilization is then merely the prelude to a slow process of degeneration and extinction, the kernel of progress being variation, something utterly opposed to stationary ideals.

In addition to those races to whom the idea of progress is an alien thought, arousing within their minds the feeling of opposition even when presented in its most attractive colours, there exist races which are quite incapable not only of actual progress but also of the very idea of progress as it presents itself to the

Western mind. The negro race would seem best placed in this category. In his native land the negro has shewn himself incapable of any sort of culture above a barbaric standard. The freed slaves of Liberia, who have had their independence guaranteed and have also had the loan of white officials at various times and in various branches of their government, have shewn themselves utterly incapable to cope with the elementary problem and basic condition of all civilizations, the maintenance of a fairly settled and stable government. In a land of far better climate and economic conditions the transplanted negroes of the San Domingo republics have failed to shew any marked signs of squarely facing the same problem. Only in those lands where, in favourable climatic environment, the negro has been kept in subjection by white governors, as in the Barbados, Jamaica, and the southern part of the United States of America, has he evinced any desire whatever for any form of culture, and in these

cases it may more or less legitimately be feared that his desire is merely the simian craving to imitate his white governor and is not a real desire for progress or understanding thereof. There are more negroes who imitate the vices of the white man than who imitate his virtues or affect his culture. In those countries where the negro governs himself, there do not exist the most primitive facilities for elementary education, and amongst their people we perceive no examples of learned men or of men intelligent and forceful enough to see the advantages of education and bring their fellow-countrymen to the same view-point. The San Domingo republics are notorious as centres of crime and bloodshed. A few hours in the interior the Voodoo fetishistic rites and even cannibalism reign in all their horror, while the respective governments wink at such observances and solemnly deny their existence. The Mahommedan empires of the Sudan were Arab or Hamitic in culture and origin, and their rulers were men of

mixed blood when not pure Arabs or Hamites. It can hardly be argued therefrom that the negro, at that time, had reached a fairly high point in civilization and could to-day return to it, possessing, therefore, the essential springs of progress within him. In these cases, the negro was ruled by people of a superior race who imposed themselves upon the black man and compelled him to live more or less peacefully within the boundaries of the empire in order to employ his savage desire to slay as a means for the territorial aggrandisement of their empires. These so-called empires do not appear to have ever been settled governments as modern thought conceives such institutions. There are people who believe the negro to be capable of progress along the lines of Western culture and who point to certain examples of learning and endeavour amongst the negroes of the United States of America as a proof of their arguments. Anybody who has seen the principal exponent of

modern negro thought, Mr. Booker Washington, has perceived that there runs in his veins a considerable proportion of white blood ; indeed, were this gentleman a resident of any country where the prejudice against the black race is not so strong as in the United States, he would be accepted as "White" enough for the ordinary purposes of social intercourse. The classification of such a man as a negro is an injustice to the large number of his ancestors who were undoubtedly white. Such "proofs" of the negro's capacity to assimilate the culture of the white man are fallacious, if only because of the number of men of mixed blood who are put forward as examples on the side of the negro.

In this last class of peoples incapable of progress, if not in actual process of degeneration, should be placed the races of the South American plateau. They consist of a large percentage of Aymara and Quechua, with a very small number of descendants of the Conquistadores, whose

blood has been weakened through inter-marriage with these races. The number of whites given in the Bolivian Government statistics is no guide to the real proportion of white blood still existing on the plateau.

The following chapters will give reasons for thinking that this people is incapable of progress, and is indeed rapidly degenerating from even the present low level of culture and civilization.

CHAPTER II

THE PLATEAU TO-DAY

THE plateau of the Andes consists in great part of a barren plain, broken at intervals by huge masses of mountain chains rising high towards the heavens, and enclosed on east and west by the Cordillera Real and the Andes proper. The elevation of the plateau above sea-level varies between ten thousand and fourteen thousand feet.

In this region there are only two seasons, spring and winter. In the spring, or rainy season, the rain-clouds dash against the eastern heights of the cordillera, and volumes of water are precipitated on the plateau. The earth bursts into verdure, and the tiny fields of the peasants are sown with barley or potatoes.

This season lasts from December until March.

During the rest of the year the plateau is an immense desert, grey and desolate, with not a tree nor a blade of grass to gladden the eye. Gusts of wind race across the land, raising tall columns of whirling yellow dust. The sun pours down a merciless heat during the dazzlingly brilliant day, and at night the temperature is often at freezing point. A dreary, arid, and cold region, destitute of vegetation, and capable only of supporting a scanty population of half-starved Indians. Corn does not ripen, trees will not grow, and even the potatoes are miserably small.

Animal life is non-existent in this desert land. A few viscachas and vicuñas seem to be the only inhabitants, except the great condors slowly circling about the highest peaks of the mountains. The only domesticated animals are the llama, used as a beast of burden, and a few small cattle. Donkeys and mules are also used as pack-animals. Wild duck are plentiful

around Lake Titicaca and along the River Desaguadero, but in the other parts of the plateau only a few condors are seen here and there in majestic solitude.

The Indian peasants are destitute of all culture, and are hardly capable of scratching the sterile soil to provide food for themselves. They live in hovels built of mud, and weave clothing of coarse cloth with which to guard their bodies from the inclement weather.

Lake Titicaca stands in the centre of the plateau at a height of about twelve thousand five hundred feet above sea-level. The River Desaguadero runs from the south end of the lake into Lake Poopo, and from thence the water runs in a southward direction until it is lost in vast swamps. North of Lake Titicaca and over the Peruvian frontier lies Cuzco, the old capital of the Inca Empire. Southward lies Tiahuanaca, the seat of pre-Inca civilization.

Such is the plateau to-day.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL OUTLINE

ELEVEN thousand years ago the present buried ruins of the city of Tiahuanaca were the seat of a vast civilization. The extent of the ruins and the size of the monoliths employed point to a dense population of intelligent people and capable builders. The placing of such huge stones in position, the presence of palaces, temples, the statues and beautiful buildings shew the existence of an organized government. The employment of the vast numbers of people necessary to achieve such triumphs of the builder's art would also seem to indicate the existence of large tracts of cultivated land and perfect transport arrangements.

The mystery of this great city, placed

in a region which at the present time is only capable of sustaining a scanty population, is thus formulated by Sir Clements Markham, in his book, "The Incas of Peru."

"The mystery consists in the existence of ruins of a great city on the southern side of the lake (Lake Titicaca). . . . Apart from the monoliths of ancient Egypt there is nothing to equal this in any other part of the world. . . . One stone is thirty-six feet long by seven feet, weighing one hundred and seventy tons, another twenty-six feet by sixteen feet by six. . . . The movement and placing of such monoliths point to a dense population, to an organized government, and consequently to a large area under cultivation, with arrangements for the conveyance of supplies from various directions. . . . There is ample proof of the very advanced stage reached by the builders in architectural art. . . . The tendency is to straight lines and rectangles, not to curves. . . . A vast city containing palace, temple, judgment-hall, with statues,

elaborately carved stones, and many triumphs of masonic art, was built in a region where corn will not ripen and which could not possibly support a dense population. . . . The builders may best be described as a megalithic people in a megalithic age, an age when cyclopean stones were transported and cyclopean edifices raised. . . . The great antiquity is shown by the masonry and symbolical carving, but this is not the only proof that Andean civilization dates back into a far distant past. The agricultural achievements of Andean man are evidence of the vast antiquity of his race in the same region. The domestication of the llama and alpaca furnish additional evidence of this antiquity. There is no wild llama. . . . It must have been centuries before the llama was completely domesticated. . . . The domestication of the alpaca must have taken an equally long period. It must have taken ages to bring the silken fleeces to such perfection. . . .

“There is thus good reason for assign-

ing very great antiquity to the civilization of the megalithic people."

The great antiquity of Tiahuanaca has been insisted upon by many writers. In the opinion of Dr. Villamil de Rada, as expressed in his book "*La Lengua de Adan*," this city was the cradle of man, and the Aymara language that of the original man. T. O'Connor d'Arlach calls it the oldest city in the world and fixes its date as approximately ten thousand years ago. Posnansky states the ruins of Tiahuanaca are of unique style and have nothing to equal them in any part of the world. They present no analogy with those of China and appear to be older than those of India and Egypt. His estimate, based on the astronomical orientation of the edifices, of the period of the megalithic people of Tiahuanaca as having been about eleven thousand years ago, has met with more or less recognition by other writers and may be provisionally accepted.

The real problem in the matter is the

evident change in the climatic conditions, and this problem only admits of a full solution when the supposition is advanced that the level of the plateau has been gradually rising since remote times, and has also risen some four to five thousand feet since the period of the occupation of Tiahuanaca by the megalithic builders. The Andes are, geologically speaking, comparatively modern, and there seems nothing in this supposition inconsistent with the present state of geological knowledge upon such points.

If the Andes were four or five thousand feet lower the trade winds could carry their moisture over the plateau and the western strip of desert coast line, making it a veritable paradise. In this case, corn would have ripened, trees grown, and the flora and fauna have been that of the present eight thousand feet level, almost tropical in its luxuriance and well able to afford the means of support for the teeming thousands of the great city of Tiahuanaca.

This theory is accepted substantially by all the writers on the ancient civilizations of Peru with whose books the present writer is familiar and seems to receive a certain support from observations made in other directions. In 1846 Darwin asserted that the land near Valparaiso had risen about thirteen hundred feet within modern times, and it has been stated that the coasts of Chile and Peru have risen seventy-two centimetres during the past century. Should this latter rate of elevation be presumed to have been that of the Andes plateau and the time calculated upon Posnansky's estimate, it would appear that the height of the plateau, during megalithic times, was about three thousand one hundred metres instead of the present three thousand eight hundred and ninety metres above sea-level. At the present day this elevation affords a pleasant temperate climate and one suitable, in so far as we can judge, for the development of large cities and organized methods of government and transportation.

It is not necessary to restrict ourselves to this height, however, as earth movements of the magnitude supposed are not so mathematically invariable as the calculation given. These movements usually have much greater force at their birth and gradually lessen in velocity as they approach their end. It appears reasonable to include some consideration in our estimates for this fact and to conclude, therefore, that at the megalithic period of construction in Tiahuanaca the altitude was much less than three thousand one hundred metres.

As evidence in support of the comparative modernity of the Andes—and therefore of their rapid rise during the period under review, the last eleven thousand years—Sir Clements Markham points to the discovery of the bones of a mastodon at Ulloma, in Bolivia. This place is thirteen thousand feet above sea-level at the present time and such an animal could not exist at this elevation. The same author states that in the deserts

of Tarapaca, embedded in the sides of ravines, there are numerous skeletons of gigantic ant-eaters. These animals are always found in dense forests and we must assume the presence, in past times, of luxuriant arboreal vegetation upon what are to-day sandy wastes, in order to account for this discovery. Such phenomena as these two are only fully explicable by the theory of the rise of the Andes during comparatively recent times, which gradually dried up the forests of Tarapaca and transformed them into the deserts of to-day.

A contributory cause of the change in the climatic conditions upon the plateau is stated by Posnansky to have consisted in the shrinkage of the body of water now known as Lake Titicaca. When the Andes were at a lower level the lake covered a much larger part of the plateau region and this was sufficient cause to make the climate of the islands—one of which he supposes the city of Tiahuanaca to have been—more temperate than is the

case to-day. The water escaped through ways opened up in the walls of the Andes by the seismic disturbances that caused the mountains to rise to their present height. In Aymara, the words "tia" and "huanaca" mean "border" or "bank" and "dried" respectively, thus "Tiahuanaca" would be "dried bank," or, in other words, "the shore of the lake from which the water had retreated." This seems to shew the Aymara belief in a tradition to somewhat the same effect.

There are many indications that the climate of megalithic times was warmer than at present, in addition to the fact that a warmer climate is postulated as one of the prime conditions of the city's existence. The ancient inhabitants of Tiahuanaca dedicated many monuments to the cult of the fish and the "titi" (tiger or puma), thus evidencing their comparative familiarity with these features of animal life. The miserable size of the fish to-day caught in the lake of Titicaca could never have tempted the Tiahuanacans to devote

any attention to their deification. Pumas are at present not found near the lake ; but at some five thousand feet below its altitude, seven thousand feet above sea-level, are encountered in large numbers.

In 1878, Alexander Agassiz proved the existence of crustaceous marine fauna in Lake Titicaca, and the presence of other various species of marine origin makes it appear probable that the lake is the remains of a great body of water from the ocean, upheaved in some tremendous earth movement and shut in between the walls of the Andes, gradually lessening to its present size as the water rushed out through gaps formed in the walls by further upward movements of the range. As the level of the plateau became higher the lake became colder, with a consequent degeneration of both fauna and flora. In conformity with this explanation is the fact that naturalists encounter many degenerated plants on the plateau and on the islands of the lake which originated in climates that were undoubtedly tropical

or sub-tropical. All seems to show that in those remote times the climate was warm, and an abundant vegetation reached the highest points of the mountain ranges that traverse the plateau, apart altogether from the human consideration that had the climate of Tiahuanaca been similar to the climate of to-day the races which built it and populated it would have sought another site where the climate was less severe and the conditions of life less hard than on the sterile and inhospitable plateau. It is not reasonable to suppose that the dense population of this great city remained on the plateau under anything like the present conditions of climate and environment when a more favourable climate, and soil of much greater fertility, awaited them some few thousand feet down the slopes of the Andes.

Other possible causes of variation in the climate since megalithic times have been suggested by Posnansky to have been the change in the position of the eclipse, due to the simple passage of time, and changes

in the terrestrial orbit. The great antiquity of the city is admitted by all those who have so far interested themselves in the problem, and this being the case, some change in climate could very well be presumed as a matter of course, even without the theories above avouched to account for it.

It has been seen that the megalithic peoples of Tiahuanaca lived in a warm climate and upon a fertile and hospitable soil, circumstances favourable to the construction of the gigantic works of their city, and allowing the then-time inhabitants of the plateau to devote their energies thereto without suffering, as they would to-day, the evil consequences of a disagreeable and inhospitable climate and infertile soil. The existence of these favouring conditions carries with it the implication that the height of the city above sea level was in all probability several thousands of feet lower than the present altitude of the plateau. As the Andes rose in height the climate of the plateau became colder

and the soil less fertile; Lake Titicaca gradually receded and the flora and fauna degenerated in size and quality; trees vanished from the surface of the earth and the perpetual snow line crept down from the mountain tops nearer to the plateau level. Under these conditions it seems merely a corollary to assert that man also degenerated both in physique and intellect to the present status of the plateau inhabitant, despite the renewal of vitality consequent upon the incursions of successive waves of immigration.

* * * * *

Historical ideas of the plateau races must present a certain amount of confusion on account of the smallness of the data and the long period of time which, it is presumed, has elapsed since the time of the megalithic civilisation which found its metropolis in Tiahuanaca.

There would seem to be grounds for the assertion, however, that the megalithic civilization of the plateau was in process of decay and dissolution at the coming of the

Aymara peoples. Various speculations have been made on the subject of the origin of this, the first invasion of the plateau since the building of Tiahuanaca. In this connection it is of interest to note Dr. Romero's surmise that the megalithic race was of Atlantic origin, a wave of immigration of the same family as the people who inhabited Europe before the coming of the Aryan races, and possibly borne before the advance of the Aryans westward, while the Aymara were a counter wave of Asiatic origin. The physical configuration of the Aymara Indian certainly has strong Mongolian characteristics and many of the language sounds are reminiscent of Mongolian tongues.

The New World was known to Chinese navigators many centuries before the birth of Christ, and they are stated to have visited the shores of South America between two and three thousand years before our era. It is difficult to credit, however, any supposition that the source

of the Aymara race in South America is to be sought in the immigration of Asiatics by sea. More credible is the surmise that a wave of Asiatic immigration swept down from the North of the American continent, forming the nuclei of various civilizations on the way down, and finding its southerly limit in the Aymara culture of the Bolivian plateau. Many writers have asserted the presence of Mongolian blood in the veins of the Aztecs. Ta-Yen, a Chinese author, has noted that the Mexican and Chinese calendars are identical. The languages of China and Mexico are both monosyllabic and lack the "R." The idea of the transmigration of souls, the belief that a dragon devours the sun during its eclipse, are common to both lands, while the similarity of the monastic rules in old China and old Mexico gives room for the probability that the culture of old Mexico was in some measure an offshoot from Asia. Upon some such basis is it possible to account for the coming of the Aymara and the

resuscitation of the civilization of the Andean plateau.

The Aymara empire seems to have been spread over nearly the whole of the southern half of the plateau and probably covered the greater part of it. So far as can be judged, it appears to have had a firm foundation of more or less loosely organised village communities, somewhat similar to the village communities of India. Tiahuanaca was either the metropolis or one of the principal cities. In any case, it formed the principal religious centre of the Aymara people.

The coming of the first Inca is generally thought to have taken place during the thirteenth century A.D., and Dr. Romero gives it, as his opinion, that the Aymara state (or confederation of states) was already decadent at that time. The central government had lost strength and the separate villages and towns fell an easy prey to the Inca conquerors.

The origin of the Incas has been made the subject of many interesting mono-

graphs by European and South American writers. The existence of the coast valley civilizations on the western shores of the South American continent is thought to have preceded the Inca culture of the plateau, and the latter was possibly either a branch of the coast empires in the original instance or related to them in some other manner. Whether this were so or not, there is reason to believe that the Incas were of Asiatic origin, in some more direct manner than the Aymara race, having probably arrived by sea on the coast of Central or South America. These coasts were known to Chinese mariners, and it seemed probable that a small body of determined and valiant warriors could impose themselves as governors upon the inhabitants of the plateau, in a manner analogous to the methods of the Conquistadores some few centuries afterwards.

All tradition is agreed upon the fact that the original Incas were few in number, indeed one "Inca" and his wife, who was at the same time his sister, is the number

given. There is no cause for wonder that such a people as the Aymara, organised as they were in agricultural communities, each of which was small in numbers, should offer but slight resistance to the imposition of a new governor in place of the old. The change of governors or the re-organization upon a somewhat stricter basis of a civilization already existing affected the large mass of the people to a very small extent. Even to-day dynastic changes in the Asiatic empires are the affairs of a few leading persons in the state, and the majority of the population neither care nor realize what is happening. An analogous case is that of the Wars of the Roses in England.

Once established, the Incas shewed great political ability in their policy of colonization, which tended to make their hold over the people stronger, and to break up the power of minor chieftains by separating their tribes, sending some families to a distant part of the empire, and causing the remainder to suffer the

influx of tribes from other parts. This system of colonization undoubtedly aided in the conservation of the power of the Inca rulers, and prevented any one other ruling family acquiring such a number of followers as would render it a dangerous antagonist to the Incas. The principal political maxim of the Incas seems to have been "disturb as little as possible, and retain as much of the older system as is consistent with the new." They brought the political power into their own hands, and extended their rule until the empire covered the whole of the plateau. The extent of the empire and the comparatively small number of the Incas made possible a system of taxation which was not unduly oppressive, and the Aymara peasants seem to have lived in great contentment and ease during the Inca domination.

In his introduction to Prescott's "Conquest of Peru," Mr. Thomas Seccombe states: "The Inca of Peru was the head of a colossal bureaucracy which had ramifications into the very homes of the people

themselves. Thus, after the Inca came the governors of provinces, who were of the blood royal ; then officials were placed above ten thousand families, a thousand families, a hundred and even ten families, upon the principle that the rays of the sun enter everywhere. Personal freedom was a thing unknown. Each individual was under direct surveillance, branded and numbered like the herds of llamas which were the special property of the sun incarnate, the Inca. Rules and regulations abounded in a manner unheard of even in police-ridden Prussia, and no one had the opportunity, in this vast social machine, of thinking or acting for himself. His walk in life was marked out for him from the time he was five years of age, and the woman he was to marry was selected for him by responsible officials. Even the place of his birth was indicated by a coloured ribbon, which he dared not remove, tied round his head. All in this community who were able to work, were obliged to work. On the other hand, all

lived in some sort of comfort, and there was secure provision for the helpless, the crippled and the aged. For a religious communistic despotism anything like so complete in its tyranny and its discipline, we must go for a parallel to the ancient social organization of Japan, before the rise of the military power, and the dictatorship of Iyéyasu."

The political knowledge and the conservative ideas of the Incas seem to stamp them as Asiatics of Mongolian extraction, if not Chinese, and there are many other points of similarity which give colour to this presumption. The Incas, like the Emperors of China, bore the title of "Children of the Sun." They kept the festivals of the solstice and the equinox, as the Chinese, with the feasts of "Raymi." Prescott notes in Lib. I. Cap. I. that "Mr. Ranking finds it highly probable that the first Inca of Peru was a son of the Grand Khan Kublai." The historian's opinion of this supposition is indicated by his words: "The coincidences are

curious, though we shall hardly jump at the conclusion of the adventurous author." Before the arrival of the Incas, gold, although a known metal, was not appreciated at the same value as under the Inca rule, when the whole of the product passed into the hands of the sovereign for his own exclusive benefit, (Prescott, V. Lib. I. Cap. I.). Posnansky states that "an insatiable thirst for the precious metal was the most notable thing in the political life of the Incas and their greatest desire. Agriculture occupied a second place in their estimation, and the methods of gold exploitation were the same as those anciently employed in Eurasia."

There was a tradition amongst the Incas to the effect that there would arrive the time in which men of a different race, white and with beards, would appear and wrest their empire from them. The suggestion has been hazarded that this fairly accurate forecast of the future was made possible through the knowledge possessed by the first Incas of Eurasia

and the fact that there were such other men in existence, while the thirst for gold is explainable upon the supposition that the first Inca was aware of the value of this metal in his own country and counselled his successors to accumulate as much as possible as a provision against the time when communication with the other continent would again be established. These explanations are so ingenious and seem to fit the case so aptly that they are naturally suspect. Whether they be entitled to credence or not, there still remains a solid substratum of fact which goes to support the supposition that the Incas were originally natives of Asia.

The secret language of the reigning family, which was only imparted to them, to the exclusion of "natural" relations and the subject races, disappeared with the death of those who spoke it, and this very valuable guide to the solution of the puzzle of their origin is not available. There are, however, many analogies between the

Inca culture and that of the Chinese which are in favour of our presumption that the first Inca was a son of the Celestial Empire, of Iran, or some other Mongolian worshipper of the sun. The laws, the division into castes, the patriarchal institutions of the people, their astronomical observations as well as those of the solstices and equinoxes, and the system of agriculture, seem to point in this direction, as does also the system of posts in use under the Incas. Prescott, referring to this, says, "It is remarkable that this important institution should have been known to both the Mexicans and Peruvians, without any correspondence with one another," and later on, "The establishment of posts is of old date among the Chinese and probably still older among the Persians." An interesting point is related by Posnansky which bears on this question. He states that there are, to-day, Indians in the town of Eten on the coast of Peru, and in Aten in the province of Caupolicán in Bolivia (note the similarity of names),

who speak a language understood by the Chinese.

The Incas' appreciation of the value of easy communications within the empire and their engineering knowledge, point irresistibly in the direction of China.

Whatever their origin, they welded the heterogenous mass of the pre-existing inhabitants into a vast empire, and organized them upon a scale and with a genius for political organization which not even the Romans surpassed, and which is only comparable with the civilizations of Mexico and China in extent as well as in the minuteness of detail controlled by the central government.

The Inca empire appears to have reached its highest point of development in the time of Huayna Capac, the father of Huascar and Atahualpa, the latter of whom the Spaniards found upon the throne when they arrived in the country. The internecine feuds of Huayna Capac's sons had weakened the central authority

and disorganized the empire to some degree before the coming of the Conquistadores, but the facility with which the newcomers made themselves the masters of the country remains as an eloquent witness to the enfeebling effects of a despotic civilization such as was that of the Incas.

Under the caste system of the empire progress, in the western sense of the word, was impossible, because the subject was forbidden the free exercise of his personal will. His desires were confined within the circle permitted to them by a paternal government and no efforts of his could raise him in social status or advance him in any way. He remained as he had been born. Nothing could lift him out of the fore-ordained sphere of his activities. The effects of such a system are summed up by Dr. Brinton as follows: "Such a division of labour and responsibility has in it elements of debility which in the long run must bring about social disintegration," and further on in his discussion he says,

“Hemmed in by castes, classes or institutions the human souls have atrophied, degenerated, grown decrepit and impotent, incapable of resisting the natural forces around them.”

Upon the arrival of the Incas, some three centuries or so before the landing of Pizarro, they were undoubtedly of much higher intelligence and ability than the races of the plateau. Their easy domination of the latter and the skill with which the empire was organised and extended, alone are proofs of this, were such proofs necessary. Three centuries of residence on the plateau subjected to its climatic effects must have affected them to some extent, and the want of opposition shewn to the Spaniards by the ruling classes of the empire may well have had its roots in the effect of the climate upon the Incas' original vigour and quick intelligence, in addition to their intermarriages with the subject peoples, already deadened and enfeebled before their arrival.

The coming of the Spaniards ushered

in an era of bloodshed and revolutions upon the plateau the like of which has rarely been witnessed in human annals. The Conquistadores butchered their way to power and then fought among themselves. After the Royal authority was more or less firmly instituted revolts arose, and the settlers were divided into parties of loyalists and rebels, fighting one another, until the standard of revolt was generally successful and the last remnants of Spanish rule vanished from South America. Since that time the history of the plateau has been a history of blood. Presidents have installed themselves in both Bolivia and Peru by force of arms and have been overthrown in turn by rival leaders. Settled government has been a thing unknown. During Spanish times the exploitation of the mines decimated the ranks of the inhabitants, and this cold-blooded disregard for the lives of the Indians is still a characteristic of the white races of the plateau. The usual fine inflicted for the accidental killing of

an Indian is about eight pounds sterling, and some years ago the amount was only four pounds. Such is the value of human life in Bolivia to-day.

This short outline of the history of the plateau has shewn us a picture of successive civilizations which slowly sank into degeneration and were followed by others, formed by races newly arrived on the plateau. Succeeding waves of fresh blood swept on to the heights and became in turn exhausted.

The megalithic inhabitants are supposed to have lived at a lower altitude than that of to-day. It is presumed that the height of the plateau was raised after their time. Perhaps their civilization was wrecked in some awful cataclysm, some great volcanic outburst. More probably it deteriorated slowly as the effects of the higher altitude began to be felt by the succeeding generations. The Aymara civilization or civilizations (some writers seem to think there were two periods of Aymara civilization) made the ancient culture of the plateau

to bloom again, but itself fell a victim to the effects of the altitude, which we may suppose to have become greater since their arrival. The fresh influx of blood consequent upon the Inca invasion restored for some centuries the glory of plateau civilization, but this in its turn held within itself the seeds of dissolution, and the arrival of the Spaniards, although it probably hastened the fall of the empire to some extent, cannot be made to bear the whole burden of the collapse of Inca domination and the relapse of the Indians into their present state of barbarism. These were in part the consequences of the climate and the peculiar form of civilization under the Incas; a stationary type of civilization having much in common with the Chinese.

The Spaniards were not builders, but destroyers. Their principal ideas of colonial government were influenced by that mercantile theory of political economy which taught that money was the source of prosperity. Vast amounts

of gold and silver were exported from South America to Europe, and the end and aim of their colonial policy seems to have been the exploitation of the mineral riches of the plateau at whatever cost. Under such conditions no attention was paid to agriculture, and the prosperity of the colonies themselves was sacrificed to that of the mother country, by restrictions on trade and other devices designed for the benefit of Spain.

The Conquistadores brought no great access of civilization with them on to the plateau. The Inca roads and posts fell into disuse ; temples and buildings, store-houses and the machinery of government, all fell into decay and ruin.

The people have been independent of Spain for a century now, and have been protected from invasion by other European Powers through the policy of the United States—generally called the “Monroe Doctrine”—but we find that no part whatever of the productive industries of the country, or of its com-

mercial development is due to the inhabitants themselves. In so far as there has been development of any kind, it is due to the efforts of immigrants, usually English, Germans, or North Americans.

The mixture of Spanish and Indian blood has been tried in the fires of one hundred years of freedom from outside interference, and has not shown itself more capable of achievement than the negro republics of Haiti and San Domingo.

CHAPTER IV

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS OF BOLIVIA

BOLIVIA is a centralised republic. The machinery of government has more in common with that of France than that of the United States, which is a federal republic. The legislative power is in the hands of a national Congress, consisting of two chambers called respectively the Chamber of Deputies and the Chamber of Senators. The members of both these bodies are elected by direct vote. There are seventy-two deputies elected for terms of four years. Half of them retire every two years, and thirty-six others are elected to fill their places. As members may serve as many terms as they are re-elected, it often happens that the same

man occupies a seat continuously for many years. A Deputy must be twenty-five years of age. The Senate Chamber has sixteen members, two elected from each of the departments of the republic, and their term of office is for six years, one-third of the Chamber being renewed every two years. A Senator must be thirty-five years of age. It thus happens that every two years the electors of the republic choose one-half of the Chamber of Deputies, and one-third of the Senators. This arrangement is theoretically designed to prevent the continuity of government being interrupted by a complete reversal of the parties represented in Congress, which might be caused were the whole of the members of both bodies to be elected at one time. As nearly all the Presidents of Bolivia, from the time of Sucre to that of Pando, were the leaders of successful revolutions, there is reason to fear that this theoretical safeguard of a stable government against gusts of popular passion is in the nature of an over-elaboration.

Congress has a regular session of sixty days and this may be extended in the ordinary course to ninety days. Formerly, the members of Congress were paid according to the numbers of days during which they attended the sittings, but General Montes, during his term as President, caused the method of payment to be altered to a yearly sum. This manœuvre has, as a consequence, changed the views of the members regarding the desirability of longer sessions, and as a rule the legislature closes its doors after the sixty days' regular session. It may be stated then that during ten months of the year the government of the republic is in the hands of the President and his Cabinet without any fear that inconvenient or troublesome questions will be asked in either of the Chambers. Such is the political state of the South American republics that this may be looked upon as a circumstance which aids the cause of good and stable government to a considerable extent. There is an old story of the Governor of

one of the western states of the United States of America who always retired into his study to thank the Lord the day upon which the session of the State Legislature came to an end, and there is reason to believe that a similar feeling of relief animates the President of Bolivia when Congress at last closes its doors for another year.

The President and two Vice-Presidents are elected by the direct vote of the people for four-year terms and are declared ineligible for the same office for the succeeding term. The second Vice-President is more ornamental than useful, but the first Vice-President wields considerable power as the President of the Senate and President of the National Congress as a whole. The President is supreme commander of the army and the head of the State. He is assisted in his executive duties by a Cabinet of six secretaries of the departments of State. These are: Foreign Affairs and Worship; Home Affairs; Justice and Education; Finance and

Industry ; War ; Colonies and Agriculture. All decrees of the President must be counter-signed by the minister whose department is charged to carry them into effect. Cabinet Ministers may take part in congressional debates, but it is provided that they must leave the chamber before a division is taken.

The internal administration is carried on by the Prefect of each department, assisted by sub-prefects for each province. Both prefects and their subordinates are appointed by the central government for periods of four years.

Bolivia is divided into eight departments and the "territory of the colonies." This latter is governed by a delegation selected by the President and placed under the superintendence of the Minister for the Colonies and Agriculture.

The prefects are directly responsible to the President in his capacity as chief executive of the nation and are removable at his pleasure.

The judicial administration is independent

of either the legislative or executive powers. The legislative and executive capital of the republic is La Paz but the Supreme Court sits at Sucre, the old capital. There are seven members of the Court and these are appointed for life by the Chamber of Deputies from a list of names selected by the Chamber of Senators. In addition to the Supreme Court there are District Courts, both higher and lower, Police Courts, and Parish Courts. The Police Courts deal with all the minor classes of offences of a somewhat similar type as are dealt with by the police courts of England and the United States of America. The Parish Courts seem to be rather of the nature of a survival from some previous time and are chiefly occupied with trivial cases concerning a few francs. They are analogous to the "justice's court" of a city like Pittsburg and have no criminal jurisdiction. The higher District Courts are appeal courts from lower courts and appeals may be made from them to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court hears appeals,

cases in which a Diplomatic or Consular Officer is involved, gives judgment in cases of non-performance of his duty by any public functionary or judge of the lower courts, and determines those cases arising out of the exercise of the executive power by the President and his appointed officers, as well as those involving any question touching upon the constitution and its interpretation.

The Apostolic Catholic Church is the State Church and is supported by the government. There is one Archbishop with his seat at Sucre and three bishops at La Paz, Cochabamba, and Santa Cruz respectively. The Bishops and Archbishop are appointed by the President on the advice of the Minister for Worship, and confirmed by the Holy See.

Having thus briefly sketched in outline the machinery for popular government, it becomes necessary to examine each of the branches a little closer.

The Senators and Deputies are elected by the direct vote of the people. The

great majority of the population are, however, debarred from voting by the simple fact that they are illiterate, the vote only being conferred upon men of the age of twenty-one who can read and write and whose income reaches a certain nominal figure. Should the test of literacy be fairly carried out there would be two hundred and eighteen thousand voters at the outside, of a total population of one million seven hundred and forty-four thousand. The number of "whites" is given by the *Geografico Nacional*, published officially in 1905, as two hundred and thirty-one thousand, and the number of "mestizos" as four hundred and eighty-five thousand. These total up to seven hundred and sixteen thousand, and after making deductions for the women and children it would seem that the voters are wholly taken from the ranks of the "whites" and "mestizos," the Indians not exercising this right at all.

The Indian is thus not represented in the councils of the nation and possesses no political power whatsoever. He has

played the major part, however, in all the revolutions which have taken place in the country, providing the tools with which the successive Presidents have carved their way to power. The last President who achieved his place in this manner was President Pando, and many foreign residents of Bolivia tell awful stories of the horrible atrocities committed by the blood-drunken Indians under the leadership of this indomitable fighter and fearless revolutionary. One of such occurrences is related by Mr. Arguedas in his book "Pueblo Enfermo" (Cap. II.) and this writer attributes it to the fact that the Indians took advantage of the revolt to wreak vengeance upon the mestizos for the state of servitude in which they are held. It is true that General Pando posed as the liberator of the Indians and purchased their aid by promises of reform in the government to their advantage. He represented to them their down-trodden state and his revolution was described as a triumph for the forces of Progress and Liberalism. This nomen-

clature was natural in the circumstances as the then President described himself and his party as Conservative. The state of the Indians was not altered by General Pando after his accession to power, it is almost unnecessary to add.

The present political parties in Bolivia are known as Liberal and Conservative respectively but to the student of politics the only difference perceptible in their programmes is the names of the leaders of the two parties. All the catch-words of European politics are in use but the reality behind them is far different. The so-called principles of party are a negligible quantity and the personalities involved are the real issues upon which elections are fought. The forces of the Government in power are usually successful at the polls and this appears to be one of the reasons why a revolution has, in the past, always been found necessary to unseat any government. Since 1898 there has been no recourse to arms to settle political questions and the credit for this seems due

in great measure to the forceful personality of the dictator behind the presidential chair, ex-President Montes. This gentleman followed General Pando as chief executive and his successor was named by him as a stop-gap for four years in order that General Montes may return to the position without violating the principles of the written Constitution. President Villazon is a learned and courteous gentleman, but he lacks the necessary nervous force and physical courage to make a good President of Bolivia. He allows the mob of miscellaneous deputies and senators to impose upon him by their clamour, and pays far too much heed to their noisy declamations. His desire for justice and fair dealing is interpreted as weakness, and amongst the leading men of the republic the return of the "strong man" is earnestly looked forward to as a safeguard for the national welfare. General Montes is a type of the South American military dictator, in the role of a friend of popular institutions, but nevertheless his influence in the country

makes for security and is much more likely to be a factor for the eventual good of Bolivia than is the leadership of the hydra-headed mob as represented by the National Congress.

Although the parties in the legislature bear the names of Liberal and Conservative, the true parties are "Government" and "Opposition." The Government controls the elections and the deputies, and all officials are chosen from the ranks of the personal supporters of the President. There are cross-currents which tend to reduce the cumulative effect of such a state of things, although these have been insufficient until the present period of power of the Liberals, which commenced in 1898, to prevent a recourse to arms as the only possible method of overthrowing the government for the time being. One of these cross-currents is the intense local patriotism of the Bolivian. The native of Sucre is extremely jealous of the native of La Paz, the man of Cochabamba considers himself immensely the superior of

the Santa Cruceanian, while between the inhabitants of the anti-planic and those who dwell on the lower slopes of the Andes towards the east there is considerable feeling and friction.

Another cross-current which has a certain amount of influence upon the politics of Bolivia is the strong sentiments of caste held by the whites and mestizos. The white is, in his own opinion, the descendant of the Spanish conquerors and considers all those of Indian blood as beings of an inferior race only fitted to perform the most menial tasks in the service of their masters. The people of mixed blood have inherited from their white fathers this spirit of arrogance towards those whom they consider their inferiors, while from their Indian mothers comes a slavish and abject servility towards their superiors, coupled with blood-thirstiness and cunning. The Indian hates the white and mestizo with all the intensity and malignity of which a subject race is capable and his hatred takes terrible forms at times when the shackles

of government are allowed to loosen and his passions are excited by political leaders. It is difficult for the foreigner to estimate the strength of these caste feelings at anything like their proper value, in view of their want of basis in fact, the present divisions into "white," "mixed" (or mestizo), and "Indian" being purely illusory and arbitrary divisions with no correspondence to actual facts.

These sectional and racial jealousies prevent the hold of the government (which has been almost exclusively composed of natives of the plateau for the last fifteen years) becoming so strong as to strangle every ebullition of individual and sectional feeling, and there is no doubt that a more judicious sprinkling of official posts would ensure a strong and peaceful government for many years to come, besides possibly having the effect of splitting up the various sections and incidentally aiding in the establishment of political parties founded on principles instead of personalities, a state of affairs which would allow of the

flow and reflux of parties along lines more suitable to the proper government of the country and minimise the risks of revolutions in the future. Whether General Montes is strong enough to effect such a change, and whether he desire it, is the momentous question in Bolivian politics at the present time.

Many of the members of both houses of the legislature are men of insight and statesmanlike views, but the great majority are party hacks of the professional politician type which is the curse of America, South and North alike. These men earn their seats and salaries by their support of the government through whose offices they are elected ; they possess no knowledge of politics or government in its best sense and simply follow their leader until he falls, or a larger bribe from the opposite party draws their allegiance. This being so the desire of the better elements in the State for a strong man is the more easily understood.

The Constitution proclaims the equality

of all before the law and prohibits corporal punishment. The actual position is that the Indian has, in nine cases out of ten, no rights as against any person of higher social standing. The Indians who live outside the cities are usually attached to the estate of some landowner by a semi-feudal arrangement, the terms of which differ slightly from province to province. The principal condition of the Indian's tenancy of the land is that he must serve his lord for a fixed period each year. In the country around La Paz this period is usually a month. As the landowner very often has the services of more Indians than he is able to employ at one time, it has gradually become the custom to hire them to some person resident in a town for the period of their service. It is possible to make arrangements with many landowners in La Paz who will, in consideration of a money payment, supply an Indian to carry bundles and perform certain menial household tasks, throughout the whole year. This means that a

different Indian comes to the house every month and the servant of the previous month returns to his home, but as the work he does is defined and more or less limited by custom the householder is unable to perceive any variation in the daily round. This modified form of slavery is hardly in consonance with the grandiloquent phrases of the Constitution. As the tenancies are fixed and the conditions invariable, the actual hardship inflicted upon the Indian is not so very great in the majority of cases. It may readily be understood, however, that in any case where an Indian comes into opposition with those from whom such services are not required, there is a natural tendency to regard him as a slightly superior sort of pack animal. This tendency is visible everywhere, and even in a court of law the testimony of any number of Indians is not worth the word of one man of "superior" race. As, in fact, the Indian is a frightful liar and appears congenitally incapable of speaking the truth there is always present a fair pro-

bability that his testimony will be inaccurate. On the other hand, the vice of lying is not by any means confined to the Indian, and the mestizo and white are just as likely to be lying as he. The faculty for deception and the practice of lying are so widespread amongst the plateau inhabitants that it may be considered a symptom of mental disease. In ordinary conversation with an Indian it is almost impossible to extract more from him than the affirmation to something which he has reason to believe will please his master or some other person of higher caste. The appalling servility of the lower classes is unequalled in any other race of America, and certainly the negro race does not share this feeling to anything like the same extent. A parallel might be possible amongst the despised people of no caste in India, or in those parts of Asia where despotism has weakened the moral fibre of the people. There is a probability that the two phenomena of servitude and lying are to some extent allied, and the resolution

of this psychological question could well be undertaken through observations among the plateau dwellers.

The prohibition of corporal punishment is in reality only an ornament and a legal fiction. The writer has seen a landowner thrashing one of "his" Indians with a heavy hide riding-whip. This gentleman was most courteous and answered enquiries, as to the reason for the bestowal of such a flogging, with engaging frankness. It appeared that the Indian had run away from his home upon the landowner's estate for some reason of his own and had given out his intention to go to the city of La Paz and become a workman there. The unfortunate fellow was caught by his lord, who pursued him on horseback in company with some servants, within a few leagues of La Paz and some thirty hours' ride from his home. The fugitive was sent back to his home in the charge of the head servant, after his thrashing. The stories told by Englishmen and Americans, as well as natives of the country, who stray off the

beaten track in Bolivia would lead one to believe that such an occurrence as this is more the rule than the exception.

The police are not too namby-pamby in their handling of Indian or mestizo prisoners, and it is rather usual than the reverse for a sullen Indian to be "touched up a bit" with a whip before trial in order to make him answer questions more briskly than would otherwise be the case. These things are not related to curdle the blood of the reader, and the effect of the floggings inflicted must not be supposed to be anything like the same as if a white man of northern race were punished in a similar manner. There seems a want of sensibility in the physical make-up of the plateau races which renders them almost impervious to blows, while no sense of the shameful indignity of the proceeding tortures their minds. Whether this state of affairs has been brought about through the action of the many generations of semi-slavery which the Indian has undergone, or whether the lack of sensibility is

caused primarily by the climate and general conditions of his existence, is an interesting point. The writer is inclined to think that the latter cause has been the more powerful.

With the large majority of the population living in a condition analogous to serfdom, it may well be imagined that the idea of equality before the law remains in the idea stage and is not degraded by being put into actual practice. A writer in Blackwood's magazine for November, 1912, says, "The judicial and police establishments of South America are generally maintained for any other purpose except the avowed one. They are the political agents of the men in power, and because they are indispensable they must not be punished for their excesses. Their hand is heavy on the poor settler in town or country. If a commissary of police desires the good-looking daughter of a small tradesman, and finds himself denied, he will tax the father to ruin." The article mentioned

is one descriptive of certain conditions in the Argentine Republic, but seems equally applicable to Bolivia in so far as this extract is concerned.

The Established Church in Bolivia is under the spiritual oversight of His Holiness the Pope, who confirms the appointments of the Bishops and the Archbishop. The parish clergy are usually Indians and mestizos, ignorant and bigoted, who take advantage of their position to lead as comfortable lives as possible without work. The dominion of the priest over the Indian is complete. His wishes are respected and he is given absolute obedience. He is the representative of God in the eyes of his parishioners and nothing which he desires can possibly be wrong. As the natural consequence of such a position the priests are dissolute and vicious. A Bolivian writer says of them that, "They receive money for the celebration of masses which they do not celebrate; lend money at interest and thus amass fortunes. One

priest is accused of homicide ; another of violations ; another of the practice of usury ; others of continual drunkenness, of incontinency, and of stealing, etc., etc." There are honourable exceptions to this state of things, and the principal are the foreign Jesuit Fathers who are working hard in schools throughout the republic to educate the people on higher standards than are usual in other schools of Bolivia. The influence of these devoted men is very great in some of the larger cities, but they are hampered in their work by the jealousy and suspicion of the native clergy, whose dissolute lives and want of culture form such a dark background to the activities of the Jesuits.

In educational matters it may be stated without any fear of contradiction that the best schools are those under the able superintendence of the Jesuits. Amongst the Fathers there are Frenchmen and Italians, as well as Spaniards. Cultured and educated gentlemen are the rule, and the standard of instruction is far beyond

that of any other colleges in the country. Unhappily, the number of their institutions is limited, and the prevalent jealousy of their organization is likely to prevent their increase to any great extent. The courses of instruction include the French and Italian languages in addition to Spanish, and in some of the schools English is taught, as many of the teaching Fathers have spent some time in England during their preparation for the scholastic career.

The only other schools comparable with the above are those known as the American Institute at La Paz and Cochabamba. The latter of these was opened in the month of January, 1912, and within a few days the enrolment of pupils reached four hundred. The La Paz school has also about four hundred pupils and is under the direction of an American professor with a teaching staff trained in the United States. This school ranks as a secondary school of the Republic and is the recipient of a subvention from the Government.

There are no other secondary schools throughout Bolivia.

The elementary schools in the whole of the country number about six hundred and, according to statements made by the Ministry of Education, the number of pupils is about forty thousand. These schools are managed by the municipalities and their principal work is to hammer a few words of Spanish into the heads of the pupils.

The universities of Bolivia do not reach any very high level. At only two of them is there more than one faculty, La Paz and Sucre, where degrees are granted in law, medicine, and theology. La Paz also has a commercial faculty.

The question of the inadequate provision for education and its effect in the national life are touched upon in a later part of this essay. The above short paragraphs are enough to shew the scanty facilities existing.

Degrees in medicine are granted by some of the universities, but the standard

of knowledge exacted is not very high. Professional jealousy is so strong that a foreign medical man, whatever be his degrees and qualifications, must submit to be examined by a committee of Bolivian doctors before he can be granted the requisite permission to practise in the country. A well-known medico informed the writer that it is quite impossible for any foreigner to pass this examination unless he have settled in the city where the examination is to be held, and have acquired some measure of popularity with his Bolivian colleagues, in addition to which he must be extremely careful not to offend the ears of his examiners by giving evidence of fuller acquaintance with any of the matters under discussion than that possessed by these gentlemen themselves. One foreigner was 'ploughed' in his examination because he unwisely criticised an operation made by a surgeon of La Paz. The latter turned to him at the conclusion of the operation and requested him to admire the celerity and

brilliance with which it had been carried out. The poor foreigner was, in fact, shocked at the deplorable manner in which the most elementary precautions had been neglected and unfortunately, in the stress of the moment, he expressed to the surgeon something of what was passing in his mind. At the forthcoming examination he was informed that his knowledge of his subject was not such as to satisfy the requirements of the council.

Despite the obstacles, some few foreign doctors of medicine are practising in Bolivia, and of these there are one or two who reach somewhat the same standard as general practitioners in Great Britain. With these exceptions, and one or two native medical men who have studied in Europe, there is not much that can be commended in the medical profession of Bolivia.

Every male citizen is enrolled either as a member of the troops of the line or the reserve, with successive gradations from the age of twenty to fifty. The largest

number of troops that has ever been given amounts to just over one hundred thousand in all. This total is stated to include all the reserve men. So far as can be ascertained the number of regular troops with the colours amounts to about seven thousand all told. At present there is a German Military Mission in the country, and the officers of this mission are working hard to train the Bolivian officers, as well as the men, into a model army on the Prussian system. Whether the German strictness of discipline is suited to the rather easy-going temperament of the ordinary Bolivian military officer is a moot point. The Indian soldiers are not likely to take kindly either to the discipline or to the new methods of tactics inculcated by their teachers, as to which there is grave difference of opinion amongst the native officers themselves. The flower of the Bolivian Army received their training in France, and there is likely to be opportunity for friction between them and their German instructors in conse-

quence. There is a movement on foot which has as its object the strengthening of the army, and the German mission is one of its first results. The movement is generally credited as being due to the initiative of General Montes and is supposed to be the precursor of future demands on Peru for the cession of a strip of coast line and a port. The Peruvian Government is not likely to give its consent to such a course, unless its troops were beaten in battle and the desired territory occupied by the victorious Bolivian troops.

It is beyond the scope of this short exposé to follow the argument further, but it may be noted that without allies the Bolivians are hardly able to bring things to such a pass.

continent with an upward dash to the plateau), that Bolivia is rapidly coming to the front and is no longer to be spoken of as a backward country. The casual observer mentioned takes no time to examine the roots of these modern activities. He may be looking for possible converts to some religious sect and will write his book more or less with the idea of furthering his propaganda and without the faintest remorse for all the statements, partly or wholly inaccurate, with which he astonishes his more intelligent readers, and deceives the more credulous, relative to the magnificent present and the glorious future of the countries through which he has so hurriedly rushed.

These material things are no longer, if they ever were, the essential signs of progress. There are railways in China, and who talks of the progress of China with the feeling that he is talking of a reality? In Bosnia, railways have appeared with the aggressive domination of the Austrians, yet the native of the country is

fast being forced into the background economically by the better educated and more capable business man from Germany and Austria. The great mass of the original Slav population remains in the same social state as before the occupation. The Turks have lately built a railway for the express purpose of conveying pilgrims to their holy cities, bringing modern methods of transportation to the aid of their religion, yet one can not believe that this railway is a factor of great moment towards progress within the Ottoman Empire. Railways of themselves, together with all the modern materia of commerce and transportation, do undoubtedly carry with them a certain bettering of the country in a purely material sense, but there exist instances where even this material prosperity does not react upon the country itself to any great degree and Bolivia finds herself in this case. The railways are primarily aids in the exploitation of the minerals of the country and only in a secondary sense are they railways as the

word is understood in Europe and the United States. They are gradually growing to be railways in this latter sense, but the forward steps are slow and much hampered by the politics and prejudices of the country. All the roads are owned by foreign corporations with one very small exception, and the profits of their operation (if any) go to the foreign bondholder. An analysis of the railroad finance of Bolivia shews that the railways are a serious drain upon the liquid resources of the country, and the projects for new roads are far in advance of the needs or the desires of the people. The mere effect of seeing a railway or an electric light cannot be supposed to affect the character of the onlooker to any appreciable extent, and if his house or part of his land have been forcibly purchased from him at its pre-railway value to make room for the tracks, he is more likely to place stones on the rails, as does the Bolivian Indian, than be impressed with the great blessings of a civilization which brings him such doubtful gifts.

Travelling by train and the conveyance of goods by rail are extremely expensive and far beyond the reach of the great mass of the population who continue to pack their goods by llama or donkey throughout the country. These things only make for progress in the hands of a progressive people and will convert none of those in whom the mental traits are not in accord with the fundamental axioms of true civilization.

The idea that railroad building, or any of the other varied activities of the modern business man, are real signs of progress in the peoples amongst whom they are taking place, is founded upon that error in observation which confuses the most striking phenomenon with the most important. Very often the most striking thing is merely incidental and not fundamental. Railroads are familiar to the observer as concomitants of Western civilization and therefore are assumed by him to be of its essence, the more especially as they bulk largely to his view. One

might as well believe that roller-skates and fountain pens, sheath gowns and silver fruit knives, are of the essence of civilization and progress. In these latter cases the absurdity is evident. Nobody would be likely to assert that the presence of any of the articles mentioned in Central Africa was evidence of either progress or civilization, yet the same observer, coming to Bolivia, will point to the other larger concomitants of our culture and triumphantly deduce therefrom the progress of the country.

In any analysis of the culture of a people all these incidental, as opposed to the fundamental, factors should first be eliminated from the discussion. One might as well argue that the acquisition of a modern rifle by a Moroccan brigand brings him within the pale of twentieth century civilization as that the presence of railroads is in itself any evidence of progress.

The large business houses in La Paz and the other cities of the plateau will give the visitor a pleasing sense of local pros-

perity and pushfulness. With rather a shock he will learn that ninety-nine per cent. of these firms are foreign. In many cases a Spanish-looking name in reality hides the identity of a German or Englishman. The railways, the majority of the mines of all kinds, and nearly all the big commercial houses are owned and managed by foreigners. This seeming prosperity has little effect upon the native, as the whole of the commercial activity of the country is carried on over the heads of the Bolivian population. Their only point of contact is the Customs House, where the government collects practically all its revenues from duties on exports and imports.

There are many stone houses in La Paz and other cities. They were built by the Conquistadores. Houses built to-day are usually constructed of mud bricks (adobes) of the same nature as those used by the Indians hundreds of years before the formation of the Inca Empire. Very few have modern sanitary and bath fittings and

all of them are arranged in very much the same manner with a two-storied building ranged round a "patio," although in some cases there are as many as three patios one behind the other. The builders would appear to have no idea of planning for the comfort of the future inhabitants when a house is constructed. In quite a number of them it is necessary to cross an open patio to reach the dining-room although the climate of La Paz is such that it is anything but warm after sunset all the year round. In none of the houses is there any provision made for heating arrangements, a state of things which leads to gentlemen very often attending an afternoon reception in overcoats. Bricks are made in the cities but extremely few are used and then only by the richer classes. The building of a house is a piece of work lasting for years. The hospital building at Oruro took over four years to arrive at semi-completion in the year 1911, and the military school at La Paz was building for three years before it was half-finished, the

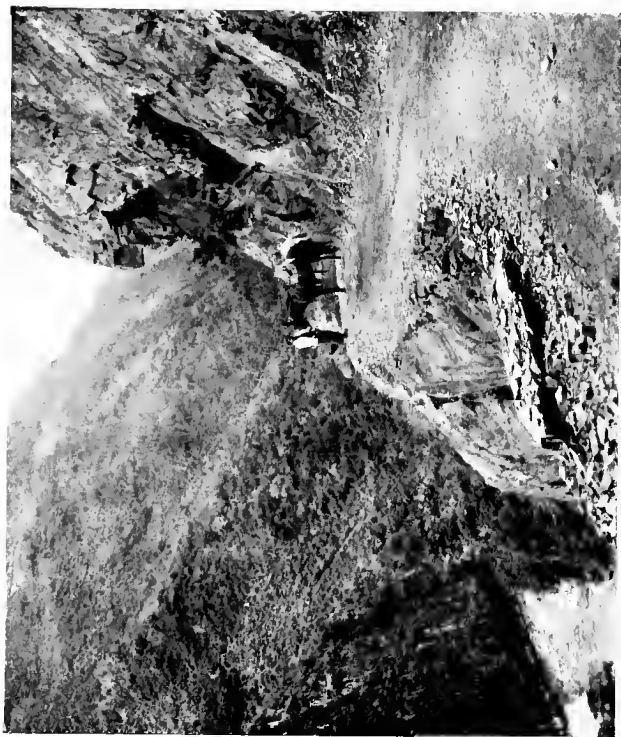
second half remaining unplastered, windowless, and doorless for years after. Time is of no value in Bolivia.

The influence of geographic environment upon humanity is a question which has been much debated. Many are inclined to find in the melancholy of a race the reflection of its sombre surroundings, and to such the dreary wastes of the plateau will provide the major explanation for the melancholy and depressed spirits of the plateau dweller. Certainly the foreigner arriving on the plateau for the first time is struck to the soul by the dismal and forbidding outlines of the mountain peaks, the lack of brightness and plant life and the desolateness of the land. The aspect gives a note of sadness and depression which is felt keenly for some time and only gradually succumbs to the attacks of the reason, calling for cheerfulness as the wine of life. It is difficult to say what effect the surroundings have upon the native

whose ancestors have lived under their influence for many centuries but the fact that melancholy and low spirits are ingrained in the race is not to be disputed, however much we may dispute their cause.

In this connection it is interesting to see how the geographic environment of the plateau peoples acts upon their means of inter-communication, their nutrition, and their bodily health.

Communication is undeniably extremely difficult. The roads are simple mule trails, winding down the river valleys or across deserts of yellow sand. The sectionalism which shews itself in the politics of the country is caused largely by the difficulty of communicating with the more distant districts of the republic. The man from Santa Cruz or Sucre is a stranger in thought, sympathies, and education, to the Pacenian. Railways are aiding in ridding the country of this very real drawback but their influence is small at present and is confined to the upper classes solely.



AN ANDEAN ROAD.

(From a photograph taken by a friend of the author's.)

The dry, sandy soil is not productive. Barley is the principal cereal and in quality it is poor. Potatoes are small and bad. Corn does not ripen. All the fruit sold on the plateau is brought up on mule back from the valleys of the Yungas provinces, which lie some thousands of feet down on the eastern slopes of the cordilleras. The scanty vegetation does not provide food in sufficient quantity for the domestic cattle and sheep. These animals are small and thin, and their meat has little or no fat, besides being tough and stringy.

The principal climatic conditions affecting the health of the people are the dryness of the atmosphere and the small percentage of oxygen present therein. Electric storms are frequent and the air is surcharged with electricity all the year round. The burning heat of midday is followed by cold very nearly freezing point at night; indeed it is not unusual for a temperature of under freezing point to be registered. Such violent changes within the space

of twelve hours can only be deleterious to the health.

The deadening and stupefying effect of the altitude is very marked in those who have been on the plateau for any length of time and this should be easily believed when the physically depressing effect of the extremely rarefied atmosphere is taken into consideration. There is a heavy strain on the lungs in the secretion of oxygen, a process which at sea-level is not necessary as there the atmosphere contains the required quantity, and the primary function of the lungs is simply to inspire and respire. This faculty of secretion or absorption of oxygen by the lungs is only acquired after many months' residence on the heights, and is never acquired so well but that the process remains an abnormal strain. The altitude also exercises a quickening effect upon the movement of the heart. The normal pulse beat at sea-level is in the region of seventy

per minute, but on first coming to a height of twelve thousand feet it will, in most cases, rise rapidly to about ninety, whilst in some cases it reaches over one hundred or one hundred and ten. After some months' residence the pulse gradually recedes to seventy-seven or slightly more, being always seven to ten per cent. more than at sea-level. The physical faculties of hearing, touch, taste and smell are also affected in varying degrees which depend upon the individual but in some shape are common to all. The dryness of the atmosphere may have a good deal to do with the impairment of these last four senses in addition to the altitude. The amount of electricity in the air is very great at times and the effects of this surcharge of electric current are seen in a development of "nerves," irritability, and various nervous disorders.

This nervousness leads to a certain instability in thought processes, manifested even in the highest class of intellect on the plateau and evidenced to some extent

by the past history of the Bolivian Republic, of which nearly every President from Sucre to Pando (1826 to 1899) was the leader of a successful revolution.

The lack of stimulating variety in the aspect of nature at the height of twelve thousand feet above sea-level would seem to exercise a depressing effect upon the intelligence of the people living amidst such surroundings. The magnificently grand contours of the mountains and their great height undoubtedly tend to produce a fervent admiration for these wonderful works of Nature in the minds of the people, an admiration which manifests itself to foreigners by their florid speeches about earthly paradises when talking of their cities. It is not necessary to give specific examples in this connection, as any reader who cares to scan the columns of the La Paz press may see it for himself almost every day. One of the consequences of this aggravation of the faculty of admiration is the almost total elimination of the critical faculty. The critical faculty, which

is the guide and inspirer of all creative effort, does not play any part in the literature of the country, a literature full of sickly sentimentality, "homenajes" to the national heroes of all times, poetic descriptions of battles and other historical incidents, and—nothing else. A contributory cause of this sterility in literature, noted by the Bolivian author, Alcides Arguedas, is the overweening desire for popularity which influences writers towards the production of works with rapidity and without the devotion of too much thought. As a result the literature shews no evidence of profound observation or originality of any sort.

CHAPTER VI

FORETHOUGHT—INDUSTRY

THE quality deemed most significant for the progress of a people by all writers on this subject is that of forethought. Professor Letourneau states that forethought is above all the ripe fruit of intellectual development. As a nation rises in culture its horizon stretches out indefinitely into the future.

The presence of this quality would appear to be denoted to some extent in those cases where the national finances are in a sound condition and the national resources in process of adequate exploitation.

The estimated receipts and expenditures of Bolivia will shew a total deficit for the

end of the year 1912 of about three hundred and ninety-five thousand eight hundred and thirty-five pounds sterling (£395,835) and this sum will not include certain services and expenses for the year 1910.

According to the "General Account" of the Ministry of Finance for the year 1910, the actual receipts during that year were one million six thousand six hundred and fifty-eight pounds (£1,006,658). The total expenditures, exclusive of services and supplementary credits voted by Congress, amounted to one million nineteen thousand seven hundred and fifty-four pounds (£1,019,754), shewing a deficit of thirteen thousand and ninety-six pounds (£13,096). In these expenditures were included all accounts which remained unpaid from the previous year, but the amount of these accounts is not stated.

The President, in his speech at the closing of Congress in November, 1911, stated that "the service of the Internal

and External Debts are not included in the above 'General Account,' nor are those sums included which have been utilized for certain public works, under special authorizations. The accounts for these will be presented in due time."

The service of the External Debt is placed at the sum of one hundred and forty thousand and fifty-three pounds sterling (£140,053) in each year for both 1911 and 1912, but this full total would not be necessary for 1910 as the French Loan of one million and a half sterling (£1,500,000) was only arranged during that year.

The following table gives the estimated Receipts and Expenditures for the years 1911 and 1912 :—

RECEIPTS	1911	1912
1. Customs Duties (on imports)	£444,480	£613,440
2. Export Duties - - -	244,810	294,968
3. Taxes - - - -	144,400	203,840
4. Various - - - -	217,590	266,720
Total Receipts	£1,051,280	£1,378,968

EXPENDITURES

Legislative Services	£27,230	£29,890
Foreign Relations and Worship	74,146	75,880
Interior	261,221	249,134
Finance (Including the service of the External Debt) - -	417,741	383,810
Justice and Industry -	108,851	101,608
Public Instruction and Agriculture -	158,490	149,728
War - - -	266,313	292,260
Colonies - - -	110,472	106,413
Total Expenditures	£1,424,464	£1,388,523

Leaving *deficits* in each year of £373,184 and £9,555 which, with the realised deficit of £13,096 for the year 1910 will amount to the £395,835 mentioned above. As far as the financial position can be judged, this deficit will, however, be considerably exceeded.

The Bolivian is a gambler by nature. Upon feast days the Indians and mestizos gather in crowds around the various gaming devices in the city squares, while the whites spend the day gambling and card-playing in the hotels and cafés. This spirit of taking chances has evi-

dently invaded the sphere of national finance.

The railway position in the republic is very unpromising. The total amount of guarantees entered into by the government is over £600,000 yearly, and of this probably some part, up to £200,000 or even more, will have to be paid. How such a sum can be provided with the financial situation as it is at present it is impossible to foretell. Increased expenditures in every government department are being urged by influential politicians, more especially for the army, and in the face of these demands it is not probable that any economies will be instituted. This position of the finances and the reckless granting of guarantees to railways, which have little prospect of becoming paying propositions for the next twenty years, would hardly seem to afford evidence of forethought in the social machinery of the Republic of Bolivia, but rather the reverse.

The statistics of mortality in the city of

La Paz give a death rate of thirty-seven and a half per thousand (37.5 per thousand) for the year 1911. The number of deaths was three thousand and eight (3,008) of which about thirteen hundred (1,300) were children less than five years of age. This high percentage of deaths in a small city of about eighty thousand (80,000) inhabitants has been the distinguishing characteristic of the La Paz mortality tables for many years past, and there appears to have been no steps taken by either the city or the national government to combat this state of affairs. The high proportion of infant mortality has also been a continuous feature for years. Consumption and pneumonia are officially stated to be the two main single causes of over two-fifths of the infant mortality, but the real cause is well-known to be the inability of the parents to provide proper nourishment, and the prevalent ignorance as to the value of ordinary cleanliness.

The tropical city of Panama had reduced its death rate by the installation

of drainage facilities to twenty-four and four-fifths per thousand (24.8) in the year 1908, and yet La Paz, which has no tropical fevers to sweep away its population, lags in the rear. Want of forethought could be no more aptly illustrated than by this open disregard of the lives of the people, the premier natural resource of every nation. There is no drainage system in La Paz at all, and in many other cities not so well situated as La Paz the sanitary conditions are appalling.

The national disregard for human life is further illustrated by the fact that there are only about four hundred births annually amongst some ten thousand Indians in servitude in the mines of Huanchaca. Of this four hundred some three hundred and sixty die before reaching the age of three months. In the mines of Potosi the Indians live only about ten years as a result of the fact that they "work voluntarily thirty-six hours at a stretch, only resting for short intervals, and drink too much," according to the

statement of a Mr. Sisson, an American engineer. The story need not be laboured.

There is in Bolivia no governmental regulation of works or workmen, and the poorer classes are looked upon with absolute indifference by their rulers. Feeble steps are initiated every few years by various societies for the protection of the indigenous races, but so far nothing has been effected.

The quality of Industry is likewise lacking in the Bolivian people, and that this should be so amongst the Indian races is not surprising when one considers in how few cases their labour is adequately rewarded. Regarded only as material to be exploited by their governors, and wresting scarce more than a bare subsistence from the arid earth, it is no wonder that the masses have no hope, no future to look forward to but that of dying by slow starvation, when too feeble to earn the necessary pence for bread. The Indians have no confidence in either their

rulers or employers, and will not work consistently for either except under conditions of enforced servitude.

The whites of the plateau are incapable of imposing upon themselves any form of mental discipline. They dissipate energy in various forms of excesses, but show no aptitude for steady or consistent work in any direction. A Bolivian writer describes his fellow-countrymen as being weak of will, obeying solely the impulse of the moment, and lacking almost absolutely any sense of duty.

The original Spanish conquerors were essentially warriors and destroyers, being the product of many centuries of unceasing warfare between the Spanish Christians and the Moors, and whatever their influence in the fusion of blood among the present whites of Bolivia, it is most certainly not towards settled industry of any kind.

It has been stated that a prevailing love of labour is what guarantees success, but the Bolivian despises labour in any form, and the type of university education,

together with his social surroundings, tend to confirm his pre-conceived ideas in this direction. Hard work is not a requisite to promotion in any walk of life in Bolivia. The intrigant and social plotter generally take the prizes. Corruption is rampant and is scarcely regarded as dishonesty. When such a state of things obtains among the upper classes it is but natural that those in humbler positions should also be inoculated with the vices of laziness and procrastination. There is no necessity to enlarge upon this point as almost all writers on things South American are here in agreement.

The conquest of the environment by means of unremitting industry is that aim which contributes most to the national progress. The Bolivian of the plateau has made and is making practically no effort in this direction. He remains closed in upon the heights of the Andes, content in the contemplation of their grandeur, and imaginatively associating himself therewith.

CHAPTER VII

EFFECTS OF ISOLATION—RECEPTIVENESS

THE isolation of Bolivia for so many centuries has undoubtedly, as Akers states in his *History of South America*, "Tended to restrict the mental perspective of the whites to narrow limits in both political and private affairs."

The abnormal development of the quality or faculty of admiration tends to produce in the mind a feeling of contempt for other places and peoples than one's own, this feeling arising in accord with the mental law of contrast. A contempt for and animus against foreigners is the ordinary state of mind of the Bolivian. This fact is vouched for by many writers on South America, one of whom remarks that "generations of living among Indians,

who are treated as an inferior race not far removed from serfdom, has developed an arrogant bearing on the part of the Bolivian whites not in keeping with surrounding circumstances." That this arrogant bearing is brought very much into evidence in places where Bolivians and foreigners come together is the experience of the great majority of foreign residents in the country. Such a state of mind precludes the introduction of modern ideas to any extent.

The characteristic trait of contempt for all foreigners would seem to be an inheritance from the ruling classes in Inca times, who, as we saw in Chapter III., had many affiliations with the Chinese, whose feelings in this respect are a matter of common knowledge. The prevailing ignorance of foreign countries and peoples amongst even the highest classes would also seem to be another cause contributing to the growth of this feeling.

Receptiveness is a quality of the ethnic mind essential to progress, and anything in

the nature of chauvinism is destructive to that breadth of conception necessary to enable adaptation to changed conditions or to welcome the admittance of new knowledge. How far the Bolivian falls short in the quality of receptiveness I have endeavoured to shew. Closed in behind the impenetrable mountains, he scornfully refuses to drink of the sparkling fountain of knowledge proffered to him by the rest of the world.

The type of mind which allows the Bolivian to call the heavens to witness that the level of his country's progress is rising continually, and admits of no criticism whatever, calling the clear-sighted and patriotic critic a pessimist and a false patriot, is a type extremely prevalent.

The perfervid patriot (if he may be dignified by this name) who considers his native land "the only beautiful, good, and great country of the world," to whom "there is none other comparable in splendour," who speaks of the rest of the planet as a vast desert in which everything is

wanting, believes that even the sun reserves for his country its purest rays, and fixes his eyes on the "mountains of prodigious fertility," admits no quota of the quality of receptiveness, so essential to progress within the portals of his mind.

CHAPTER VIII

SYMPTOMS OF DEGENERATION

Is the plateau dweller of Bolivia then not only incapable of true progress but, in addition, on the fairway towards racial degeneration? Lacking in the most essential qualities necessary for progress, does he possess in their stead those which make for the decline of a people?

Intellectual deficiency and perversion is the principal symptom of ethnic degeneration and this is usually caused by bad conditions of life in general, more especially by imperfect nourishment, a too free use of toxic agents, sexual subversion and irregularities.

The action and re-action of these factors, one upon the other, makes the question of which is the cause of the other, or others,

extremely confusing. There are individual cases where the order given has been reversed, and undue indulgence in alcoholic liquors, for instance, has brought on or hastened the signs of intellectual deficiency. In order to avoid a too deep searching into social phenomena within the limits of this short essay the four facts of intellectual deficiency, imperfect nutrition, abuse of toxic agents, and sexual subversion and irregularity, will be accepted as symptoms of ethnic degeneration, i.e. phenomena usually associated with the presence of degeneration. In this case the presence of these four phenomena amongst the plateau people will go far to prove the supposition that these races are in process of degeneration.

From data given in the *Geografia Nacional*, published in the year 1905, it seems that of a total population of 1,744,000 (one million seven hundred and forty-four thousand), only 218,000 (two hundred and eighteen thousand) are able to read. This statement is given as an isolated fact so

that it is not possible to discover exactly what tests form its foundation, and whether the same test was used in all the departments of the country.

The total number of primary school pupils in 1911 was about forty thousand (40,000), but correct statistics are not available at the time of writing.

Of the seven universities only two possess more than one faculty, those of La Paz and Sucre, where degrees in law, medicine, and theology may be obtained. No faculties exist for engineering, economics, letters, or any of the natural sciences. Most of these universities are not the same thing as is understood by that word in either Europe or the United States of America. In the year 1901 the faculty of medicine at Cochabamba boasted of one professor and four scholars. In Tarija the same year, the university consisted of one professor and one pupil. In Santa Cruz the university does not possess any building of its own.

Both the primary schools and the universities possess but few teachers, little furniture, old and ruined buildings and practically no text-books or other educational equipment.

This paucity of educational facilities is a striking phenomenon in Bolivian life. As a consequence of the lack of variety in university courses, the number of doctors of medicine in the country must be far outstripping the average for any other country. Then the swarms of lawyers let loose each year from the colleges to prey upon the business life of the nation has a weakening effect upon the national calibre. The multiplication of technical illegalities and the twisting of the meaning of words has reached the status of a fine art. The tendency to weaken the national ideas of honesty and truthfulness is strong and has reached its zenith in the capital city of the republic, where the lawyers settle in ever-increasing numbers. Their invasion of the political life of the nation in such numbers, as is at present the case, is a

disastrous movement. These men are not fit for work of any description, and desire to live without giving any return for their livelihood. The idea of truly living for the good of the state is an utterly alien idea, and the sacrifices they make for the sake of their country are elaborated in their public speeches but are not evident in their lives.

The function of a lawyer is to interpret correctly the laws of a state already settled, and a higher function would be to point out the way to progress as a guide to the national law-givers. In a rich state, lawyers tend to multiply exceedingly, for the growth of commerce and trade and all the jostling individual activities of the manufacturer, trader, exporter, broker, and banker, make necessary skilled interpreters of the law laid down for the governance of these activities and their regulation in their respective spheres. Bolivia is a poor country, however, and the forced production of legal luminaries cannot but be harmful in every way.

Another result of the lack of educational facilities is the prevailing ignorance of subjects familiar to most Europeans. The conversation of the educated classes in Bolivia is restricted to enquiries as to the state of health of every member of a visitor's family, and the answering of such questions. At times the visitor will be treated to a rambling speech upon the glories of the country, or his host's native city, and he will be tested for politeness on every hand by the question as to whether this or that city is not far more advanced than some large city of his own country. Their ingenuous belief in the greatness of their country far surpasses all the verisimilitude which it is possible to impart thereto within the limits of this essay. The art of social conversation does not exist in the country, and serious conversation is barred, as the Bolivian has, as a rule, no ideas or knowledge about art, music, or letters. Politics of the narrow kind peculiar to this land of personal

parties, forms the staple subject of conversation amongst them.

The Bolivian writer, Romero, states that the plateau Indian has criminal tendencies, the presence of which he endeavours to prove by anthropological observations. This author asserts that all projects, having as their aim the civilization and education of the Indian or mestizo, are the ideas of students with no personal knowledge of these peoples and never coming into contact with them. Such projects are foredoomed to failure. He strongly declares the Indian to be intellectually deficient and degenerate. Such expressions from a man who is brought into daily contact with the people of whom he writes must be given a certain amount of credence. Romero, however, seems strangely unaware that his sweeping condemnation of the Indian and mestizo can equally well be applied to the so-called whites, who nearly all have an overwhelming preponderance of Indian blood in their veins. A story circulates in La Paz that the whitest man amongst the

Bolivians is a gentleman whose grandfather was a half-breed, and there is no exaggeration in this at all. The humour is the mere contrast between the truth as given in the story and the claims of the "white" population. The influx of white blood was almost at a stand-still for some generations and meanwhile the inter-marriage of the few whites with their half-breed cousins went on. The number of the original Conquistadores who married white women was very small, so that the majority of the second generation of the ruling caste was composed of people of mixed blood. It would thus appear that statements made concerning the intellectual status of the Indians have a wider application than their author considers their due.

The Indian is at the same stage in agriculture as he had already attained before the coming of the Spaniard; indeed, it may be said with truth that he has retrograded, as lands at that time under cultivation are now barren. The system

of cultivation is the same as was pursued in Inca and pre-Inca times. This fact would seem to provide evidence of the Indian's want of intellectual faculty. A people who remain for many centuries at the same stage in one of the primary industries, when all the rest of the civilized world has long passed that stage, can hardly be accused of progress. Their capability for progress may be there, but it seems safer to assume its absence when all signs of its presence are wanting. The fact that land, previously under cultivation, has been abandoned, and the ruined aqueducts of Inca and pre-Inca civilizations have been allowed to decay, seems rather to point to the degeneration of the Indian from some previous higher standard.

The instability in thought processes mentioned in the Chapter on the effects of the altitude, where the surmise was hazarded that it was caused in part by the surcharge of electricity in the atmosphere of the higher altitudes, may be quoted as an indication of intellectual deficiency,

while the fact of the senses being affected by the altitude would certainly cause some reaction upon the intellect which could only be disadvantageous. The lack of variety in the natural surroundings might also be expected to cause a depression of the spirits, having a certain force upon the psychic life. Such depression is a characteristic of all races living in high altitudes and is not confined to the Andes plateau.

Imperfect nutrition is regarded as the most important primary cause of ethnic degeneration, and is considered by Dr. Brinton under the three headings of: insufficient or unsuitable food, lack of variety, and improper preparation. In his "Basis of Social Relations" he states that there is "no doubt of the intimate relationship of ample nutrition and intellectual progress." Imperfect nutrition is "certain to bring about degeneration of the organs, incomplete development, and loss of brain power. Continued through generations, a

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hereditary taint is engendered which saps the vigour of the stock, and cannot be eradicated by improved conditions."

In view of these statements, it is interesting to consider the food of the Bolivians and its conformity to one or all of the conditions laid down by Dr. Brinton as leading to degeneration.

The article of food in most general use on the plateau is potatoes. These potatoes are prepared by being dried so thoroughly that they may be kept for months or years without any further deterioration. The favourite method of cooking is to stew them in water. This dish forms the staple food of many thousands of the Indians and mestizos to-day. Meat is rarely eaten by the poorer people except upon some few of the feast-days. Eggs and chickens are sold by the peasants in order to procure currency for the purchase of clothes and the payment of taxes, as well as to permit of the indulgence in alcohol which is so general. During the winter months the dried potatoes mentioned are practically

the only article of food available to nine-tenths of the population. In summer, some few vegetables may be added. Bread made from wheaten flour is a luxury, although maize flour and barley flour cakes are eaten to some extent. Well nourished children and adults are but rarely seen. Gaunt, lined faces and bowed figures are the rule. The ravages of want shew themselves on every hand, and everywhere the grisly spectre of poverty rules supreme.

The average stature of the people rarely exceeds five feet, a reasonable conjecture of the cause being the lack of sufficient nourishment. Small stature is a racial trait among the Lapps, the African pygmies, and the plateau Indians of South America. There is a relationship between the height and weight of a people and their mental attainments. All three depend upon nutrition, and physiologists recognize a ratio of the three which is requisite to the highest mental and physical development. Any marked departure from the average of the species in the

respect of stature or weight is accompanied by some equally noticeable psychical peculiarity, says Dr. Brinton. The scanty food of the plateau Indian and its want of variety, together with the poor methods of preparation for its consumption, amply account for the smallness of their stature, and to it, also, may be ascribed the general lack of intelligence observable in the race.

In cooking, the principal requisite is a steady and easily-regulated heat. As the only fuel available is "takkia," the dried dung of the llama, which ignites very slowly, bursts suddenly into flame for a few seconds and then smoulders away, it may easily be grasped that the culinary art does not reach any high level in Bolivia. The altitude causes water to boil at a much lower temperature than at sea-level, also a great difficulty in the proper preparation of food. With these obstacles in the way it is needless to state that food is everywhere on the plateau, and in all classes of society, very badly prepared for the table. Mr. Crichfield says, in a humorous passage

on "Living in South America." "In the morning the first meal is a cup of black coffee, a piece of dry bread, and perhaps a chunk of dirty cheese; about eleven or twelve o'clock is the 'almuerzo,' a meal made up of cheap wine and poor food; towards six or seven in the evening is 'la comida,' made up of poor food and cheap wine." This description is very true of living on the plateau although, as regards some other parts of South America, the exaggeration may be a little forced. Stomach diseases and bowel complaints are very common, and appear to be due to the poor and insufficient food, as well as its improper preparation. The high rate of infant mortality was mentioned in a previous chapter and need only be alluded to here as further evidence of the existence of the conditions regarding food and its preparation whose presence is here asserted.

Prominent among the class of maladies known as "dystrophic," on account of their

tendency to diminish virility and thus both to lessen the birth rate and lead to morbid psychic states, are the later stages of alcoholism and the opium habit, and by some authorities the inordinate use of tobacco is asserted to exercise a similar effect. The use of stimulants is one of the preventable causes of deterioration, but the law-makers of the republic do not seem to be aware of the necessity for any measures, educational or other, with a view to checking the consumption of either alcohol or drugs among the people. Professor Lapouge has called alcohol "the most formidable agent of degeneration in modern society." Its excessive use brings in its train the slow hardening of the "axis cylinders" in the nerve sheaths, the immediate consequence of which is permanent deterioration of mental activity. Dr. Brinton says that alcoholism, when "extended throughout a community, means a lessening of its energy and of its finest mental qualities. Chronic alcoholism of this kind does not materially shorten life,

but it is eminently transmissible and this soddens the stock."

The abuse of stimulants is universal in Bolivia. The consumption of coca has reached terrifying heights among the Indians, who chew the leaves all day long. Its ravages upon human beings, unaccustomed to its use and not prepared by centuries of self-stupefaction, are well known in the country. If a white foreigner begin to drink, his end may be a matter of doubt, but should he contract the coca-chewing habit nothing can save him from destruction. In a few years he becomes stupidly indifferent to outward happenings, a vacant stare usurps the place of his previous intelligent glance, he becomes negligent as to appearances and looks like some dirty, shabbily-dressed tramp. All capacity for initiatory action of any sort leaves him, and he sinks to be a mere stupid beast of burden. In the interior of Bolivia, down towards the rivers Beni and Mamoré, there are several wrecks of white gentlemen wandering about in the

forests and swamps or living in the small villages in the rubber district. Death is a merciful release for these poor wretches and they are not left long to wait for it.

The passion for alcohol has penetrated all classes. Writers of all nationalities have remarked upon the craving for alcohol which dominates the plateau Indians, whose whole life consists of earning enough money to get drunk, and then getting drunk. This happy state is easily achieved, for the liquor sold is of the worst quality. In the city of La Paz the number of drunkards charged yearly by the police varies between four and five thousand, and this number does not include those charged with more serious offences committed whilst under the influence of drink. As the total population of the city is under eighty thousand, of all ages and sexes, the number of men over sixteen years of age is probably between twenty and twenty-five thousand. The alarming inroads of alcoholism are thus clearly seen. In social circles an entertainment of even

the humblest kind is not complete without a 'copa de champagne' and the evil effects of this continual tipping may easily be imagined.

All South Americans are addicted to the cigarette habit and the Bolivians do not lag behind other countries in this particular. In government offices, banks, and commercial houses, the men invariably hold a cigarette in their mouths.

Among the whites, the marriage bond is not regarded as being anything of a tie on the part of the man, and it may be stated that nearly half of them have second "wives," taken from among the Indian or mestizo women. Illegitimate and legitimate children are, in some cases, brought up in the same house. The women do not appear to feel the degradation of this custom any more than the custom of polygamy offends their sense of the just in those countries where it is part of the recognized social law of the land. No

protest from them or on their behalf has ever been raised. Among the Cholos (mestizos) and Indians the ceremony of marriage is dispensed with in the majority of cases. The Chola woman and her "querido" live together for six months or a year and then begin to chafe under the tie and look for another companion. Bolivians will tell you that the women are fairly faithful to their mates during the time the assorted couples actually live together, but this statement is not borne out by the experience of the police officers with whom these people are brought most into contact. The Chola is very easy-going as regards sexual morality, and but little persuasion is necessary to induce her to admit the stranger to a share in her temporary husband's connubial bliss.

The Indians do not bother to get married, principally because the ceremony costs a few francs. The life of the peasant, isolated from any large settlement, is lacking in distractions or enjoyment of any kind,

and it may be for this reason and as a kind of mental and physical reaction that during the many feasts, sexual excesses of the worst kinds take place.

The number of illegitimate births in La Paz varies between thirty-five and forty-five per cent. of the total, a proportion shown by no other city of like size in the civilized world. (Bolivian baptismal statistics for the year 1904 give eight hundred and eighty-nine illegitimate children in a total of two thousand three hundred and fifty-five).

There were, in the year 1911 in this city, no less than nine 'first-class' houses licensed as places of prostitution, where the fees asked were such as to prohibit their entrance by any but the higher classes of the whites. In addition there are many unlicensed houses. Chola servants, sewing girls, laundresses, etc., also form a part of the large body of occasional prostitutes.

It is asserted that the disease of syphilis is widely spread among the inhabitants of the plateau, but statistics are lacking which

will prove or disprove this statement. The prevailing irregularity of the sex relation would seem to favour the diffusion of such diseases. Syphilis is classed amongst those toxic agents making for degeneration and decay of the people among whom it occurs. The prevalence of this disease among the lower classes of the community and in some of the darker races is a present and potent cause of their mental inferiority. It is well known that children born of syphilitic parents are deficient in physical energy and mental stamina. They are, says Dr. Brinton, liable to scrofulous symptoms and tubercular degenerations, and are deficient in ambition and love of labour.

With regard to sexual irregularities, it is generally admitted that the disregard of those sentiments and principles which cause persons of opposite sexes to form lasting unions has a detrimental effect upon the individual and national character. Dr. Brinton states that wherever this has prevailed the community has been weakened

and its powers misdirected. It would also appear obvious that any stimulus to the sex-feeling, over and above that necessary for its physiological purpose, would detract from the sum of total energy available at any one time in the individual, either physical or mental, and that any indulgence of it in other than physiological methods develops degenerative tendencies.

In the course of the preceding very brief examination of social phenomena among the plateau people, it has been seen that all four of the factors usually associated with ethnic degeneration are at present at play in the country.

Whether these indications of degeneration have already achieved such strength as to successfully overcome all efforts made to combat them, must form the subject of close and careful study on the part of the people themselves, with a view to the discovery of media which will counteract them. There are no accurate

statistics compiled for Bolivia which could be used to oppose or support any of the statements made in this chapter and the first endeavour should limit itself to the compilation of these. Medical science in the republic does not stand at a high level, and this would have to be raised greatly before the work of such compilation could yield any trustworthy results.

In the absence of these statistics it is not possible to assert categorically that the results of the personal observation of the writer, and the people from whom his data were collected, are true of the whole of the plateau population, or of the majority. On the other hand, it is only after careful study of the people and the country that these assertions have been made, and in every case they have formed the subject of serious consideration and study before having been admitted to the pages of this essay.

Degeneration is a racial or ethnic disease which does not appear to lie simply upon the opposite side of the river dividing it

from the healthy desire for progress and its achievement. Its insidious poison may be traced among the most advanced nations of the present day and the higher forms of governmental social activity, in the most progressive states, are concentrated upon the question of its counter-action in the most efficient manner. Those phenomena which seem most closely allied to degeneration and are usually classed as "symptoms," such as alcoholism, the undue use of drugs, sexual irregularities, and the insufficient and improper nourishment of the lower classes, form the subjects of countless laws and innumerable restrictions which the advanced statesman deems to be in the best interests of the people whom he has been called to govern. The experience of more progressive nations in the battle waged against these symptoms should prove of value to the ruling classes in Bolivia in their fight against the same symptoms evident in the life of their own country. Laws regulating the sale of alcoholic liquors and drugs, providing for the

pensioning of the aged, insurance against sickness, the provision of government employment bureaus, boards of arbitration for fixing the rates of wages to be paid in various industries, the system of factory laws, laws against child labour and against female labour in heavy occupations, Truck Acts, Minimum Wages Laws, marriage and divorce laws, the provision of hospitals, provision of educational facilities, and all the many forms of so-called social activity, into which the modern state has been pushed by the advance of science and the growth of large cities, are part of the general system evolved for the purpose of checking the growth of these symptoms of degeneration which are everywhere and in all nations visible to some extent. Laws in themselves, however, are not factors of any weight in the social welfare unless properly carried out. The primary assumption of the law-maker, that the law will be obeyed, pre-supposes a spirit of submission to the general welfare on the part of the individual

which is singularly lacking in the psychic make-up of the Bolivian. How this spirit of true patriotism is to be fostered and its growth encouraged is a puzzle which will have to be worked out by public spirited statesmen of the republic within the next generation or so in order to divert the country from the downward path upon which it seems bent at present.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT

THE preceding chapters have shewn the presence of the principal symptoms of degeneration among the people of the South American plateau, coupled with the absence of those qualities generally recognised as being the most essential springs of progress in nations. In order to shew clearly that such phenomena are entirely independent of forms of government, a short sketch of the government and social institutions of Bolivia was given in Chapter IV., from which it has been seen that theoretically this country has an admirable form of government.

It is not necessary to state that the plateau includes territory within the boundaries of the republics of Bolivia,

Peru and Ecuador. Bolivia, however, appears to be much more identified with the past history of the plateau than either of the other republics mentioned. In addition, the present rulers of the country, as represented in the members of the President's Cabinet, as well as the past Presidents for many years past, have in the great majority of cases been natives of the anti-planic, whilst the capital of the republic lies on the plateau, and the general culture of the people is much more influenced by the plateau and its presence than is the case in Peru, where the capital lies on the coast and looks towards Europe for light and guidance.

The past history of the plateau shews successive civilizations sweeping up on to the heights and successively sinking into degeneration.

The races who lived in the earliest times knew how to work in stone. Those of the present are absolutely ignorant of the art of sculpture. The magnificent temples and other buildings erected by

the megalithic people are far beyond the architectural triumphs of the race to-day. The engineering works of Inca times suggest a standard of civilization beyond the reach of the modern Bolivian. The Inca machinery of government and their achievements in the realm of politics generally have no present-day parallel. The people of the plateau have degenerated successively until they became the miserable Indian of to-day, a semi-troglodyte who inhabits the bleak and inhospitable wastes of the higher slopes of the Andes.

It appears probable, therefore, that the alignment of the past, confirmed as it is by the conditions of the present, will project itself into the future, marking out the road of the plateau dwellers towards decay and degeneration.

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